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E6715 Lincoln Room

We pledge ourselves anew to the Constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last National Convention of the party.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

1880.

WILLIAM H. ENGLISH.

His Record as a Civilian in the 33d, 34th and 35th Congresses.

His "Teachings and Example."

The Floridas and Texas, in 1845, were admitted into the Union as *slave States*. Out of the Louisiana territory purchased of France in 1803 by the United States, Louisiana in 1812, and Missouri in 1820, were formed into *slave States* and admitted into the Union. In the 8th section of the act of March 6, 1820, admitting Missouri, Congress adopted what is known in history as the "Missouri Compromise"—a stipulation, as one of the conditions of Missouri's admission as *a slave State*, "that in all that territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36° 30′ of north latitude, not included within the limits of the State [Missouri] contemplated by this act, *slavery and involuntary servitude*, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, *shall be and is hereby forever prohibited.*"

This great landmark, fixing the boundary between Slavery and Freedom, was extended in 1845 by the resolutions admitting Texas into the Union, and was not disturbed by the compromise of 1850. Consequently, in 1854, at the date of the Kansas-Nebraska act, this compromise was a law of the land. In 1820 its passage was claimed as a victory for the South—a triumph of slavery. In the language of Senator Benton, of Missouri, "*it was a law forced by the South upon the North.*" Hitherto all its benefits had inured to slavery. But Kansas, in 1854 a new object of pro-slavery rapacity, being a part of the "Louisiana purchase," and north of 36° 30′ north latitude, this compromise prohibited the introduction of slavery within its limits. Hence the "pro-slavery Propaganda" arrogantly demanded its repeal. The Democracy obsequiously responded by the incorporation into the Kansas-Nebraska bill of its 14th section, which declares that "*the 8th section of the act of March 6, 1820,*" *embracing the Missouri Compromise,* "*being inconsistent with the principles*" *of the compromise of* 1850, "*is hereby declared inoperative and void*"—that is, hereby repealed.

That was the situation when the Hon. WILLIAM H. ENGLISH, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, became a member of the 33d Congress. Did Mr. ENGLISH range himself on the side of freedom? *On the contrary, did he not vote for the "Kansas-Nebraska infamy"—vote to repeal the Missouri Compromise—vote to destroy a great "landmark of freedom"—in support of the "Propaganda," a pro-slavery minority, as the dominant class of the Nation?* And what was the result of such "teachings and example?" A protracted, sanguinary, and cruel struggle on the plains of Kansas between Slavery and Freedom.

Even while the repeal was pending in Congress the Propaganda was actively but secretly populating Kansas with armed emissaries. The supporters of the President and of Senators in the plot circulated the story that no one would be allowed to settle on the lands of that Territory until they had been surveyed and were offered for sale by the Government. In the meantime delegations of the Indians occupying the lands were rushed on to Washington, treaties made with them extinguishing their title, and the agents of the Propaganda in Missouri privately telegraphed of the fact, with instructions to locate upon the lands. Thus a multitude of Missourians, armed and confederated in secret lodges—"*Blue Lodges,*" "*Kickapoo Rangers,*" "*Sons of the South,*" "*Social Bands,*" "*Friends' Society,*" *et al.*, with passwords, signs, and grips, by which their members were known to each other—were enabled to settle upon some of the best lands in the Territory in advance even of a public knowledge of the extinguishment of the Indian title.

It should be borne in mind that the "*Constitution and the Union,*" "*Northern aggression,*" "*non-intervention,*" and "*popular sovereignty,*" were the phari-

saical cries under which the "Propaganda" operated its plot against Freedom, with which it cloaked its treason to liberty and free institutions; as "*law and order*" was the fraudulent cry under which it justified the massacre and outrage in Kansas of the friends of Freedom.

None understood that better than the Hon. WILLIAM H. ENGLISH. Nevertheless, in the House, in the debate upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, Mr. ENGLISH exclaims: "I want no better platform than the Constitution"—that is, the Constitution with the pro-slavery interpretation of the "Propaganda." He affirms that he is "sworn to support" that instrument—that as "a good citizen" he is bound to support the "constitutional rights" of the South—the rights of slavery in its desolating march for the conquest of Freedom. He even indulges in the almost blasphemous cant of the "Propaganda" about the divine blessings of slavery to the African race. He declares—

> I do not doubt that its [slavery's] existence in the United States will, by colonization and otherwise, be made under Divine Providence a means of Christianizing, civilizing, and regenerating the whole African race, now but one degree removed from the brute creation.

Unwittingly, however, Mr. ENGLISH describes the real situation, the real issue involved—the usurpation, the lawless claim of a minority to dominate the majority. He very innocently affirms: "The white population of the North doubles that of the South;" "a majority of the [white] inhabitants of the South do not own slaves," nor do they desire slavery. Nevertheless, at the command of a pro-slavery minority, a great "landmark of freedom," a formidable barrier to the barbarous progress of slavery, was stricken down and destroyed, and that as a "constitutional right" of the South. That Mr. ENGLISH calls "a vindication of the sovereignty of the people." In his indignation he denounces all allied in hostility to the new projects of the "Propaganda" as a disreputable commingling of—

> Black spirits and white,
> Blue spirits and grey,

and as fouler in all the elements of their organization, as in their purposes, than the witches' broth in Macbeth! No such organization should command his sympathy and support. His allegiance was due to the South—to the Constitution and slavery; and he pledges the Northern Democracy—"the great mass of the Democracy North—to stand firm by their Southern brethren." Mr. ENGLISH, indeed, apparently delights in the prospect of strife. He exclaims:

> Lay on MacDuff,
> And damned be him that first cries, "Hold, enough!"

Thus encouraged, thus assured of the support of the Democracy, North and South, the "Propaganda" let loose upon Kansas all the demons of disorder and strife—plunder, conflagration, assassination, and massacre; and for years, supported and protected by the Democratic administration at Washington, by officers appointed by the President, by courts and juries, and the United States troops, maintained a reign of terrorism and blood through the most lawless and criminal acts. Freedom was outlawed—Slavery was enthroned as King.

Elections in the territory under the Kansas-Nebraska act were all brutal farces. The first, those for delegate to Congress (November 29, 1854,) and for the choice of a territorial legislature (March 30, 1855,) were held under Governor Reeder's proclamations, which required all persons presenting themselves as voters to swear that they were *bona fide* residents of Kansas. But a few days previous to the election for delegate General Stringfellow, of Missouri, in an address to a crowd at St. Joseph, Missouri, published the following as the law of the "Propaganda" for the government of the election:

> I tell you to mark every scoundrel among you that is the least tainted with Freesoilism or Abolitionism, and exterminate him. Neither give nor take quarter from the d——d rascals. I propose to mark them in this house, and on the present occasion, so you may crush them out. *To those who have qualms of conscience as to violating laws, State or National*, the time has come when such impositions must be disregarded, as your rights and property are in danger; and *I advise you one and all to enter every election district in Kansas in defiance of Reeder and his vile myrmidons and vote at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver.* Neither give nor take quarter, as our case demands it. *It is enough that the slave-holding interest wills it, from which there is no appeal.* What right has Governor Reeder to rule Missourians in Kansas? His proclamation and prescribed oath must be repudiated. It is your interest to do so. *Mind that slavery is established where it is not prohibited.*

Accordingly, the Missourians, in gangs aggregating thousands, armed with muskets, revolvers, and bowie-knives, and supported by cannon, also "plentifully supplied with whisky and rations," and "carrying their own tents," invaded Kansas, appeared at and seized every poll in the territory, expelled the lawful judges and resident voters, and rolled up "decisive majorities" for the Propagandist candidates. Thus General Whitfield was elected delegate to Congress; and nearly every pro-slavery candidate to both houses of the territorial legislature. The *Squatter Sovereign*, a pro-slavery organ published in

Missouri, in noticing the entry on their return of some of these "emigrants to Kansas" into Independence, Missouri, declares:

> They [the emigrants] were preceded by the Westport and Independence brass bands They came in at the west side of the public square and proceeded entirely around it, the bands cheering us with fine music and the emigrants with good news. Immediately following the bands were about 200 horsemen in regular order; following these were 150 wagons, carriages, &c. *They gave repeated cheers for Kansas and Missouri. They reported that not an anti-slavery man will be in the Legislature of Kansas—we have made a clean sweep.*

At a subsequent election, held under all the forms of the law, Gov. Reeder was chosen delegate by a large majority of the actual residents of the Territory, and he contested Whitfield's seat in the National House of Representatives. In that contest Mr. ENGLISH opposed a motion to investigate the Propagandist outrages in Kansas. In his disgust at the motion he raises the cry of "*Black* Republican," "*Black* Republican," and labors to overwhelm with contempt and odium the friends of Freedom and a free ballot. His reasoning in support of Whitfield is equally characteristic. He argues substantially: At the first election, under Gov. Reeder's own proclamation, *General* Whitfield had an overwhelming majority—2,900 votes to 36 magnanimously conceded to Reeder—an almost unanimous vote. Where at that election were the friends of Reeder? If violence had been used, if outrages and wrongs had been perpetrated in Kansas, if the friends of Reeder had been violently ejected from the polls, *the North, the friends of Freedom and law, were the aggressors.* It was their hostility to the subjugation of Kansas by the "Propaganda," which had "*provoked retaliation by the people of Missouri,*" by the law-abiding Border Ruffians, led by the amiable and valiant Stringfellow. Manifestly, to Mr. ENGLISH's mind, the proposition to investigate was positively monstrous. He exclaims:

> Why, sir, grant the powers asked for [to send for persons and papers] and one half of the dissatisfied spirits of Kansas will be brought here to give evidence—to say nothing of the Freesoil zealots and "willing witnesses" from other quarters—and all at the expense of the Government.

Hence, by his voice and vote, Mr. ENGLISH opposed all inquiry into the outrages and frauds of Whitfield's so-called election.

The Legislature thus elected, this "Bogus Legislature," met July 2, 1855. To some of the members, returned as described above, Gov. Reeder refused the usual certificate of election, and ordered new elections at which, in the absence of the Missourians, Free State men were elected by the actual residents. The Legislature, without a hearing, promptly rejected the Free State men, and seated the Propagandists chosen by the Missourians. The few Free State men admitted to seats resigned, refusing to hold seats in such a "bogus body," and the Propagandists in consequence obtained unanimous control of both houses of the Legislature. In violation of the Kansas-Nebraska act, and over the veto of the Governor, it transferred the territorial seat of government from Pawnee to Lecompton on the Missouri border. It enacted a law requiring northern emigrants to take an oath to support the "Fugitive-slave law," the Kansas-Nebraska act, and the acts of their "Bogus Legislature," and one authorizing the marshal of the Territory to confine prisoners in the jails of Missouri. It adopted as the laws of Kansas the pro-slavery code of Missouri—a body of barbarous acts—"a bloody and brutal code"—which made a servile allegiance to slavery the only condition upon which an emigrant might settle in Kansas. All liberty of speech, all freedom of press, all the rights of person and property, were rudely stamped out; and the courts and juries were converted into engines of tyranny. "No person conscientiously opposed" to slavery, or "who does not admit the right to hold slaves," could be a juror in cases where the question of slavery was involved, or in which was involved "the punishment of crime against the right to such [slave] property." All blacks or mulattos were regarded as slaves. In every case the negro was compelled to prove his freedom, not the master or claimant his right of property in the black. The writ of *habeas corpus* and appeals to the United States Supreme Court were prohibited in all cases where slavery was interested—in cases "involving the question of personal freedom," and the whipping post was established for the punishment of offenses by the slaves. The "speaking or writing," or the introduction into the Territory of any writing or publication denying "the right to hold slaves in Kansas," was made a *felony* punishable by "*imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years.*" All printing or publications, or the introduction into Kansas of any print or publication, calculated to cause "rebellious disaffection" among the slaves in the Territory, or to induce them to escape, was made a *felony* punishable by "*imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than five years.*"

White slavery, indeed, was enacted under the most revolting forms. Every white person convicted under these laws, and sentenced to a term of years at hard labor, was "*deemed a convict,*" and "while engaged at such labor," either for the public or for individuals who might buy his services, was "*to be securely*

confined by a chain six feet in length, of not less than four-sixteenths nor more than three-eighths of an inch links, with a round ball of iron not less than four nor more than six inches in diameter attached, which chain shall be securely fastened to the ankle of such convict with a strong lock and key," or *"by other chains or other means,"* at the *"discretion" of the jailor. "Two or more such convicts shall be fastened together by strong chains with strong locks and keys."*

Hence, for the exercise of the freedom of speech, for the extraordinary crime of printing or publishing anything denying the legal existence of slavery in Kansas, or resisting its introduction into the Territory, a white man, no matter how high his standing, or how pronounced his abilities and worth, might be reduced to a bondage even more revolting than negro slavery, ironed and forced to labor for the public or for some vulgar or brutal Border Ruffian. Nor did such degrading and cruel enactments, such violations of the Constitution and the rights of persons under it, satisfy the pro-slavery spirit which dominated in the Legislature. *It must have blood.* Hence, to "decoy, entice, or carry away out of this Territory" any slave, "with intent to effect or procure the freedom of such slave," was made *a capital offense, punishable with death!*

Every "free white male *inhabitant*," every Missourian, in the Territory on election day was declared a citizen and voter; but the bulk of the actual residents were practically disfranchised—all who refused to swear to support the "Fugitive Slave acts," the Kansas-Nebraska act, and the laws of the "Bogus Legislature." In joint session of the two houses, this "Bogus Legislature" elected as local or county officers—as judges, magistrates, sheriffs, constables, *et al.*—all pro-slavery men, many of them non-residents, and for long terms—some of them for six years; and a law was enacted "to organize, discipline, and *govern* the militia of the territory." The people were not allowed to elect even a corporal. The governor was to appoint the generals and colonels; the colonels to appoint the captains, and the captains the lieutenants, sergeants, corporals, and musicians, and one half of all the male residents of the territory of military age were *on election day* required to assemble as militia under the orders of pro-slavery officers. The House Committee which in 1856 investigated "Kansas Affairs" says in its report:

> "*Every Election* has been controlled, not by the actual settlers, but by citizens of Missouri; and as a consequence every officer in the Territory, from constables to legislators, except those appointed by the President, owe their position to non-resident voters. *None have been elected by the settlers, and your committee have been unable to find that any political power whatever, however unimportant, has been exercised by the people of the Territory.*"

In an address at Easton, Pa., Governor Reeder sadly admitted:

> It is, indeed, too true that Kansas has been invaded, conquered, subjugated by armed forces from beyond the borders, led by a fanatical spirit trampling under foot the principles of the Kansas bill and the right of suffrage.

Hence, Governor Reeder refused to recognize the "Bogus Legislature," and to enforce its barbarous laws. Having thus incurred the displeasure of the "Propaganda," he was removed by the President, and, to save his life, was forced to flee from the territory. He was succeeded as Governor by Wilson Shannon, of Ohio. In an address to the Missouri Ruffians Shannon pronounced the laws of the "Bogus Legislature" constitutional, and he attempted to enforce them with relentless barbarity. The "Free State" men, their lives and property in hourly peril, with no hope of protection for either from courts or laws or from the territorial government, now decided to act. They issued a call for the election of a Constitutional Convention by the *bona fide* settlers of the Territory. The Convention met at Topeka. It adopted a Constitution outlawing slavery, and provided for the election of a State government under it. The Constitution, ratified by a vote of the actual settlers, was dispatched to Congress, a State government was elected, the officers of which met and organized March 4, 1856, at Topeka, subject, of course, to the decision of Congress upon their petition for admission as a State.

But these proceedings, instead of meeting with any favor or sympathy at Washington, were denounced by the President and Senate as revolutionary—as constituting rebellion and treason against the authority and laws of the United States. The President in proclamation and message indorsed the "Bogus Legislature," and Governor Shannon was instructed to employ the United States troops, all the powers of the National Government in the Territory, to enforce its infamous laws. General David R. Atchison, of Missouri, an ex-Senator of the United States, and but recently, as late as 1854, the presiding officer of the American Senate, now took the field with Stringfellow as a leader of the marauders. Under Atchison's public appeals to the South for money and men for the subjugation of Kansas, a savage banditti poured into Kansas. A regiment recruited in the Carolinas, Alabama, and Georgia, arrived under a Major Buford, with similar organizations from all parts of the South, and united with the Missouri Border Ruffians. In Missouri United States arsenals

were plundered to arm its ruffians. Others were equipped by Governor Shannon from the territorial arms quota furnished by the War Department, and all were taken into the pay of the United States under calls of sheriffs and the United States marshal as posses to execute the laws.

Again and again was Kansas invaded from Missouri by armed barbarians under General Atchison. In a speech at Platte City, Mo., in describing these raids, Atchison boastingly declares:

The Abolitionists of the North said and published it abroad that Atchison was there with a bowie-knife and revolver, and by God 'twas true! I never did go into that Territory, and I never intend to go into that Territory, without being prepared for all such kind of cattle.

And the most revolting atrocities were perpetrated with absolute impunity. Indeed, Governor Shannon encouraged them by his example. Says an eye witness:

In one instance Governor Shannon himself accompanied Colonel Titus and Colonel Preston with thirty or forty United States troops to the house of Mr. Hazeltine, near Bloomington. There were no persons in the house except the wife of Mr. Hazeltine and their children, the oldest of whom was but five years of age. They proceeded to search the house, Governor Shannon remaining outside, armed with a Sharp's rifle. After Colonel Preston had searched the house, the Governor ordered Colonel Titus to search it again, saying: 'God damn him, he is there.' Mrs. Hazeltine asked the Governor what her husband had done? He replied: 'God damn him, I will show him if I get hold of him. I will tear his God damned heart out of him; and if you don't look out, you will share the same fate, God damn you.' After remaining there about three-quarters of an hour, during which time they continued to curse and abuse the sick and helpless wife, they left threatening vengeance on Mr. Hazeltine should they succeed in finding him.

Chief Justice Lecompte lent the influence of his example. In that he was emulated by Associate Justice Cato, by the United States marshal, by sheriffs, and every officer of the judiciary in Kansas. Under "eloquent" addresses from Lecompte "Free State" men were ordered by Vigilance Committees to leave the Territory. Under his charges to the grand jury the officers elected under the Topeka Constitution were indicted for treason, were arrested, refused bail, and confined for months in loathsome jails. The Topeka or "Free State" legislature, attempting to assemble, were dispersed by the United States troops. Its members were arrested and imprisoned.

Buford's men and the Missouri banditti, spreading over the Territory, rioted in murder and plunder. The "Free State" men of Leavenworth, its business men and some of the most respectable in Kansas, were forced on steamboats, and compelled to return North, and their houses plundered and burnt.

Hundreds were forcibly ejected from the Territory by brigands organized as Vigilance Committees and "Law and Order" associations. The banks of the Missouri were guarded by armed mobs under Atchison and Stringfellow, steamboats were boarded, trunks broken open and rifled, and their owners forced to return North. The U. S. mail was captured and plundered. "Men were attacked on the highway, robbed, and subsequently imprisoned. Others were seized and searched, and their weapons of defense taken from them without compensation. Horses were frequently taken and appropriated. Oxen were taken from the yoke while plowing and butchered in the presence of their owners." Towns like Ossawatomie were assaulted, sacked and burnt—their citizens massacred, or, with the women and children, compelled to fly.

No condition or age or sex was spared the most brutal indignities. William Phillips, a citizen of Leavenworth, a distinguished lawyer of much worth, was seized, carried across the river into Missouri, and one side of his head shaved; he was then stripped naked, tarred and feathered, rode on a rail a mile and a half, put up at auction and sold as a slave for one dollar, and ordered to leave Kansas. He was subsequently brutally murdered, his house sacked and burnt. Preachers of the gospel were ridden on rails, and "thrown into the Missouri, fastened to logs and left to drift down its muddy, tortuous current." A candidate for the Legislature was brutally gashed with knives and hatchets, and then, weltering in blood, was trundled along with gaping wounds to fall dead in the face of his wife. The act deprived her of reason. In the mere wantonness of murder, "Free State" men, on trifling wagers, were killed and *scalped*.

Lawrence, the principal town in Kansas, was made to suffer every outrage. Its inhabitants were "Free State" men—the town the citadel of the "Free State" movement. Three times was it beleaguered by the Border Ruffians. Twice were they baffled of their prey. Its hotel, a fine and costly structure, owned by a "Free State" man, and its two newspapers, able "Free State" organs, were by the grand jury of Douglas county indicted as nuisances. An army of Missourians under Atchison, with Buford's men, acting as a posse to *Sheriff* Jones, beleaguered the town. In vain its law-abiding people appealed to Gov. Shannon for protection; he would not interfere. The law and the processes of the courts must be enforced. In vain they pleaded that they had violated no law—that they had resisted no process of the courts. The Governor was inexorable. *Sheriff* Jones, with Atchison, entered Lawrence and demanded the surrender

of a few small cannon in possession of the town and all the arms of its people. The cannon were surrendered. Private arms were not given up.

Upon the surrender of the cannon, *General* Atchison mounted one of the captured pieces and addressed the brigands in the following language:

This day, boys, I am a Kickapoo Ranger. This day is the most glorious of my life. By God, this day have we entered Lawrence with *Southern rights* inscribed upon our banners, and not one damned Abolitionist has dared to fire a gun. *A glorious victory, boys, by God!* We have entered the damned city and *to-night the Abolitionists will learn a Southern lesson that they will remember to the day of their death.* That emigrant aid hotel, with her port-holes, must this day be tested and it blown to hell. The damned Abolitionist presses must go into the Kaw River and there soak out some of their darkey love. And now, boys, we will go in with our honorable Jones, [the Sheriff, who had just ridden up to them,] and test the strength of that damned Free State hotel, and teach the Emigrant Aid Society that Kansas shall be ours. *If the men or women undertake to stop us we will hang them, by God.* A lady is entitled to the protection of every gentleman, and I trust that ladies will be respected by all gentlemen. *But when a woman takes upon herself the garb of a soldier by carrying a Sharp's rifle, then she is no more worthy your protection than a savage brute. She is no longer a woman, and, by God, treat her as you find her, and trample her under foot as you would a snake.* I now give you into the hands of Sheriff Jones, to become *his posse*, and *assist him in enforcing the laws of Kansas.* Come on, boys, to your duty to yourselves, and to your Southern friends. Your duty I know you will do faithfully, and *if a man or woman dare to stand before you blow them to hell with a chunk of cold lead!*

The hotel was reduced to ashes. The material and type of the "Free State" organs were destroyed, and thrown into the river; the dwelling of the Hon. Charles Robinson, the Governor elected under the Topeka constitution, was burned; the women and children driven in terror from their homes, and the town sacked. Everything valuable was stolen—letters, valuable papers, arms, and money—even the clothing of the women and children, and what the ruffians could not carry off they destroyed

All over Kansas similar atrocities were perpetrated in the name of the law, by the officers of the law. The "Free State" men finally took up arms; and after a series of sanguinary conflicts, in which many valuable lives were lost, expelled the barbarous banditti from the soil of Kansas.

Meanwhile Governor Shannon had been removed. General Geary, who succeeded him as Governor, finding himself powerless against the Missouri borderers, resigned, and the Hon. Robert J. Walker was appointed.

The bogus pro-slavery legislature adopted a call for a Constitutional Convention preliminary to admission into the Union as a State. The apportionment of the law under which it was held disfranchising the "Free State" men, they refused to participate in this election, and consequently the convention was composed wholly of the most violent Propagandists. It met at Lecompton in September, 1857, but immediately adjourned over until after the election for a territorial legislature. At this election the "Free State" men won a complete victory. They polled 7,600 votes to 3,700 by the Propagandists, elected 9 of the 13 councilmen, and 27 of the 39 representatives.

The "Bogus Convention" reassembled at Lecompton. It adopted what is known as the Lecompton Constitution, which established slavery over Kansas, and provided for submitting its slavery clause to the registered voters of the Territory, but under such conditions as to render it a practical fraud. The ballots were to read, "*The Constitution with Slavery,*" or "*The Constitution without Slavery.*" In either case the constitution would be adopted. It also provided for the election of a State government and a member of Congress; deprived the legislature of all practical power by providing that all existing territorial laws not repugnant to the constitution shall continue in force until altered, amended, or repealed by a legislature assembled under the constitution; and provided that all the "bogus" officials, civil and military, of the Territory shall continue in office until superseded by the authority of the State. It also provided that no amendment to the constitution shall be made previous to 1864.

Even Governor Walker, a pro-slavery man, indignantly condemned such a document. It nevertheless was indorsed by the President and his Cabinet, and under it Congress by message was asked to admit Kansas as a State.

In consequence of this Propagandist deviltry for the subjugation of Kansas, a natural outcrop of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, a mighty struggle, from 1854 to 1860, in Congress and the country, was maintained *between the friends of free and slave Kansas—between the friends and opponents of a free ballot—the friends and opponents of the right of a majority to rule! What, in that conflict, was the attitude of* WM. H. ENGLISH? *Was it not that of an opponent of free Kansas—an opponent of a free ballot and of the right of a majority to rule?*

As we have seen, Mr. ENGLISH voted in the first instance for the "Kansas-Nebraska infamy"—for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and for a renewal of the slavery agitation which enabled the "Propaganda" to precipitate the South into rebellion, and to involve the North in an appalling war for the preservation of the Union! He voted against all investigation into the sanguinary and brutal Propagandist outrages in Kansas and voted to seat in

the House the Kansas pro-slavery delegate elected through outrage and fraud. At the second session of the 34th Congress Mr. ENGLISH voted against the Grow bill, which denounced the pro-slavery legislature of Kansas as chosen in violence and fraud — as "usurpers" — which repealed its "cruel and oppressive laws," and provided for the organization and government of the Territory by its actual or *bona fide* settlers; or, in other words, Mr. ENGLISH voted to maintain "the brutal pro-slavery code of Kansas," and to justify the "Border Ruffians" in their outrages and crimes for the subjugation of Kansas!

THE OUTRAGE ON SENATOR SUMNER.

The Hon. Charles Sumner, in the Senate of the United States, on the 19th and 20th of May, 1856, dared, in severe but parliamentary language, to denounce the "crime against Kansas"—dared to arraign its authors and supporters as guilty of crimes against Humanity and Freedom! For that, for the exercise of a plain constitutional right, for the performance of a duty which, as a Senator, he owed to the Nation and his State, Mr. Sumner, two days later, was assaulted in the Senate by Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina. Says the Hon. Anson Burlingame, in a speech in the House:

> The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Sumner] sat in the silence of the Senate Chamber engaged in the employments appertaining to his office, when a member from this House, who had taken an oath to sustain the Constitution, *stole into the Senate*—that place which had hitherto been held sacred against violence—and *smote him as Cain smote his brother.* * * * *One blow was enough; but it did not satiate the wrath of that spirit which pursued him through two days. Again and again, quicker and faster, fell the leaden blows until he was torn away from his victim, when the Senator from Massachusetts fell into the arms of his friends, and his blood ran down on the Senate floor.*

The whole Nation was startled, outraged, by this transfer to the United States Senate of the murderous methods of the "Border Ruffian" for the suppression of free speech. The House promptly investigated. Its committee reported a resolution for the expulsion of Brooks and the censure of his accomplices, Keitt, of South Carolina, and Edmundson, of Virginia. Every law-abiding man throughout the civilized world condemned and reprobated Brooks' act. But WILLIAM H. ENGLISH did not feel it so deeply. As he voted against the repeal of the "brutal code of Kansas," so Mr. ENGLISH voted against the resolution for the expulsion of Brooks, and for the censure of his accomplices, Edmundson and Keitt! As he voted to protect the "Border Ruffian" in his tyranny and crimes, so Mr. ENGLISH voted to shield Brooks and his accomplices from the consequences of their attempted assassination of Charles Sumner!

And the animus or spirit which manifestly influenced these votes characterizes Mr. ENGLISH'S congressional career during all this great struggle between Freedom and Slavery!

In the 33d, 34th, and 35th Congresses, while supporting the Propagandist measures for the aggrandizement of slavery, Mr. ENGLISH proudly announces the doctrines of his political faith. He also treats us to an elaborate indictment of the Republican party. Its heaviest count is, that in every State where the Republican party had obtained control it had instantly banished the infamous "Black Code" with which the Democracy had disgraced the Statute Book—had remodeled the institutions of the State in conformity with the civilization and progress of the age. It had even admitted that the African was a human being capable of improvement like other men, had admitted him to colleges and established schools for his instruction—had even established precedents which admitted that by labor and culture he might become a lawyer or doctor or a member of any learned profession. To Mr. ENGLISH'S comprehensive statesmanship, therefore, the Republican was a sectional party—"a party with one idea, and that one idea is the negro!" He exclaims:

> Separate them [the Republicans] from Sambo and Cuffee and they are as helpless as babes. * * * How long will it be [if the Republicans obtain power] before Hon. Pompey Smash, Fred. Douglas, or some other kinky-headed and thick-lipped darkey presents himself here, all redolent with the peculiar odor of his race, to claim a seat as one of the people's representatives.

Hence, in Mr. ENGLISH'S judgment, the salvation of the Nation, the perpetuity of its institutions, and the liberties and rights of its people, rested wholly upon the pro-slavery Democracy.

All around him, in both Houses of Congress, as throughout the South, was heard the defiant and treasonable declaration that if the North closes us out of the Territories, if it elect a President upon an anti-slavery platform, the Union will be dissolved. All around him was heard the barbarous doctrine that "*Slavery is national—Freedom sectional*"—that "*slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laborer*"—that "*slavery is right and necessary whether*

WHITE *or black!*" At his very side Lawrence M. Keitt, of South Carolina, announced as a cardinal doctrine of Democratic faith that—

> Slavery is a great primordial fact, rooted in the origin of things. As a corollary to this it may be safely deduced that the existence of laborers and mechanics in organized societies was the result of the partial and progressive emancipation of slaves. * * * History tells us also that when the [white] working classes stepped out of the condition of bondage by the process of emancipation, they branched into four constantly recurring subdivisions—the *hireling*, the *beggar*, the *thief*, and the *prostitute*, which have no general existence in slave countries unless there have been a commencement of emancipation.

The North at the same moment was also aflame at the infamous dragooning of its cities in the execution of the "Fugitive slave law." The venerable Josiah Quincy, sen., in 1854, in Boston, Mass., exclaimed:

> What has been seen, what has been felt, by every man, woman, and child in this metropolis and in this community, and virtually by every man, woman, and child in Massachusetts? We have seen our court-house in chains, two battalions of dragoons, eight companies of artillery, twelve companies of infantry, the whole constabulary force of the city police, the entire disposable marine of the United States, with its artillery loaded for action, all marching in support of a pretorian band consisting of 120 friends and associates of the United States Marshal, with loaded pistols and drawn swords, in military costume and array—for what purpose? *To escort and conduct a poor trembling slave from a Boston court-house to the fetters and lash of his master!*

Nevertheless, Mr. ENGLISH "proudly" announces his fealty to the Democracy—not to the Douglas Democracy—he belonged "to no such party"—but "to the great Democratic party"—to the "Propaganda!" Instead of denouncing Keitt and his barbarous doctrines, he applauded him as a distinguished leader of the Democracy! Instead of denouncing the treasonable doctrines of secession, he admitted the right, but pleaded that his associates, the Propagandist leaders, would not exercise the right—that they would stay in the Union, not for the sake of the Union, nor for the institutions and liberties which it guarantees, but for the sake of the Northern Democracy, who would be sacrificed by the Republicans if abandoned by the Propaganda. He and the Northern Democracy were ready to vote all they demanded. They were troubled with no "sickly sentimentality on the subject of slavery." As he had voted to sustain the brutal pro-slavery code of Kansas, and the outrages by which it was maintained, so he was ready to vote for the extension of slavery—to admit slave States, to vote for the enforcement of the "Fugitive slave law," to dragoon the North into obedience to its mandates—to coerce every Northern freeman to become a slave hunter at the command of the Propaganda!

In that spirit, and with that declaration of principles, Mr. ENGLISH addressed himself to the solution of the pending Lecompton issue. Senator Green's bill for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution passed the Senate, but was defeated in the House. In the Senate Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, had offered a substitute. In the House Mr. Montgomery, of Pennsylvania, also moved the Crittenden substitute, which was adopted by that body, but the Senate refusing to concur, a committee of conference was asked. Mr. WILLIAM H. ENGLISH, as chairman of the House branch of that committee, reported what was called the "ENGLISH bill" for the admission of Kansas. It sets out with the patent falsehood that the Lecompton Constitution, the violent product of the Missouri Ruffians, was framed by the people of Kansas. It then provides for the submission of the Constitution to a vote of the people of the territory, but meanly attempts to bribe the majority to accept a Constitution, to which they had again and again expressed their repugnance, by large donations of public lands for "school purposes," "for the support of a State University," and "for the purpose of completing the public buildings"—by grants of "five per cent. of the net proceeds of the sales of all the public lands within the State for the purpose of making roads and internal improvements" and of "salt springs" for the use of the State. If the people rejected these munificent donations, Kansas was to be remanded to a territorial condition, and prohibited from coming in under any other constitution until it had the full population of 93,340. Either Slave Kansas or no Kansas.

Under the dragooning and influences of the President, aided by Cornelius Wendell with the plunder from the public printing, this bill finally passed both Houses. But the people of Kansas, indignant at so disreputable a proposition, a bribe for the abandonment of great principles, and being no longer under the terrorism of the Missouri Ruffians, rejected it by an overwhelming majority. The Nation in its judgment ratified that of the people of Kansas. Mr. ENGLISH and all from the North concerned in the Lecompton plot were relegated to private life, and the attempt now by the Democracy, by his nomination as Vice President, to restore Mr. ENGLISH to public life will be defeated by an overwhelming majority of the American people.